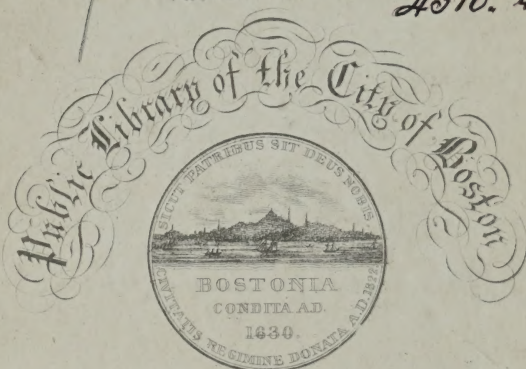


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Added Mar. 21, 1865. No. 67533

SPEECH

OF

C. M. CLAY, OF FAYETTE,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF KENTUCKY,

UPON THE

BILL TO REPEAL THE LAW OF 1832-'3, "PROHIBITING THE IMPORTATION OF SLAVES INTO THIS STATE."

67533

Delivered in Committee of the Whole House, January, 1841.

FRANKFORT, KY.
A. G. HODGES...STATE PRINTER.
1841.

c

SPEECH.

MR. CLAY having the floor, said—

MR. CHAIRMAN: The result of your deliberations upon this bill must affect the destiny of this State, and perhaps that of the Union itself. Pamphlets and speeches have gone forth among the whole people, and all the leading journals of the State have taken ground upon one side or the other. If I were pleading my own cause only, however much I might hazard in the result, I should ask your attention with diffidence; but I stand up here in behalf of a whole people—your State, yourselves, and your posterity, are so nearly concerned as to demand a patient hearing and a deliberate determination.

The gentleman from Breckenridge* and the gentleman from Louisville have done me the honor to allude to me personally, and the late canvass in my county; and although they have done so in a manner most complimentary to myself, yet, to me, it is a source of regret, because my opponents are not here to answer what I may have to say. I shall, therefore, speak of them in no other terms than those of scrupulous respect. The influences which were arrayed against me were indeed great: a young man (in intellect at least my equal) with all the advantages of wealth and thorough education, in the county of his nativity, and among the associates of his childhood and youth, the son of an old politician, who had done some service to the Commonwealth, and whose legal attainments at all events had no small consideration in the public estimation, was my opponent. I, on the contrary, was a new-comer. If I bore with me any reputation for ability, it must have been of necessity but little, whilst, if I had any social qualities worthy of consideration, my limited associations barred their influence. It was then the policy and justice of the cause I advocated, which, in a county of ten thousand slaves, sustained me triumphantly. The discussion of this subject is deprecated *here*—so it was deprecated *there*—and by whom in both cases? By those who will not rest whilst this law stands; who would claim a judgment against us by default, who, by bitter denunciation, would drive us from our integrity; they beg the question, and ask us to be silent; they have demanded the repeal of this law for three years; at every stage the law has rapidly gained friends, and yet they dare tell us that the *people* require its repeal. Epithets strike no terrors into my spirit; denunciation shall not silence me. It has been said, that money is power, that knowledge is power, but more powerful than both these combined is truth. Let me ever worship at her shrine—she is the high priestess of republican liberty. Let my voice be lifted up forever in her cause.† Shall the slaves of our State be increased? If slavery is a blessing, by all means repeal this law; but if it be an evil, as I hold, as held Jefferson and Henry and Madison, and all the illustrious statesmen of the world from 1776 to the present

*Mr. Calhoun—Mr. Towles, of Henderson, the mover of the bill, was not heard by the author.

†“He, therefore, who retards the progress of intellect, countenances crime; nay, to a State, is the greatest of criminals. Nor let us believe, with the dupes of a shallow policy, that there exists upon the whole earth one prejudice that can be called salutary, or one error beneficial to perpetuate.” “It is the petty, not the enlarged mind which prefers casuistry to conviction: it is the confined and short sight of ignorance, which unable to comprehend the great bearings of truth, pries only into its narrow and obscure corners, occupying itself in scrutinizing the atoms of a part, while the eagle eye of wisdom contemplates, in its widest scale, the luminous majesty of the whole.”—BULWER.

day, then you dare not touch that law which stands like a wall of adamant, shielding our homes, and all that makes that name most sacred, from more than all the calamities that ever Barbarian invaders inflicted upon a conquered people. The gentleman from Breckenridge avows slavery to be a "blessing," and undertakes, by scripture, to hallow it with the sanction of Deity. This is strange doctrine to be heard in any country, but to urge it here, among Kentuckians, and in this assembly, is not only strange, but monstrous. I cannot assent to the argument. I oppose it upon every principle of truth and expediency, now and forever; it saps the foundation of human liberty. If you sanction it now, where and to what shall I appeal, when the *sword* and the *purple* are arrayed against me? No, let not gentlemen in their blind zeal to make slavery here "*perpetual*," cleave down the banner under which our forefathers fought and triumphed, the barrier against the oppressor of all lands, "that all men are born free and equal." The divine right of kings has fallen before the advance of civilization; the most loyal and despotic sticklers for royalty now speak only of the *historical* right of princes to rule. Can it be that this doctrine shall have fallen only to give place to its more monstrous counterpart the divine right of slavery? I understand our religion to leave the form of government, and the municipal institutions of nations untouched; nay, sir, the Saviour of men disclaimed the right of interference—"give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's"—was his doctrine; it is also my doctrine. I am no reformer of governments. I leave slavery where I found it; 'tis not a matter of conscience with me; I press it not upon the consciences of others—"let him who formed the heart, judge of it alone." I admit, with the gentleman, the antiquity of slavery; that it has existed from time immemorial to the present day; yet, sir, in all that time, I find nothing to recommend it as a source of power, of glory, or of humanity. Its first mention is in Genesis, where Isaac subjects Esau to Jacob. Esau rose up to slay his brother, and Jacob was forced to fly from his country. Evil, in the beginning, as it is now. The Jews were enslaved by Pharaoh in Egypt; what again were the consequences? In the metaphorical language of the historian, unheard of plagues came upon the Egyptians, which were terminated only by the entire destruction of Pharaoh's host in the Red Sea. Jerusalem was destroyed, and the Jews led captive by Nebuchadnezzar, and held in bondage in the Assyrian empire. What was the result, glory and dominion and safety? No, sir; these slaves were the cause of the destruction of Babylon, and the utter ruin of the empire. The inspired writers imputed the destruction to the oppression of the Jews; the profane agree in the result; whilst it requires no great sagacity to discover that slavery, through natural means alone, was commensurate as a cause to the result. 'Tis true that Darius or Cyaxeres and Cyrus the Persian, turned aside the Euphrates and entered through the dry channel, beneath the walls, with their army; but it was by treachery only that he could pass the massive gates which barred the entrance from the river through the streets to the palace. The hand writing upon the wall was Hebrew; Daniel, the Hebrew, alone could read and interpret it to the doomed Belshazzar. Effeminacy and luxury had caused the Hebrew slave to rule over that once powerful and glorious nation; they were betrayed in the midst of revelry and self-confidence; they were destroyed in a night; and Daniel, the slave and the Jew, was made vice regent, under Cyrus, over all the shattered provinces. Thus passed away forever the most splendid city that the world has seen, most impotently, without a struggle, leaving no vestige behind. I am gravely told, that in those countries of antiquity, where slavery existed, the human intellect reached its highest developement; yet did slavery exist among all nations at that time. How happened it that a cause so general produced effects so limited? No, sir; the Grecian and Roman States were glorious in spite of slavery. The ancient historians say but little upon the subject of slavery; perhaps they thought (as some do now) that nothing should be said upon the subject of so great a "blessing:" yet, whenever we do hear of it, desolation marked its pro-

gress, mentioned only in connection with the evils of its sufferance. Plutarch and Thucydides tell us that, during the reign of Archidamus, an earthquake threw mount Taygetus upon the city of Sparta, and destroyed it. Their slaves, the Helots, these natural enemies of the master, immediately rose up and set upon the Lacedemonians; and this proud people were forced to call in their rivals, the Athenians, to protect them from domestic violence. We may judge of the prolonged desolation of the war, when we are told, that Ithome was besieged for ten years before it was taken. We may estimate the effects of slavery upon the moral sensibilities of that people, when we are informed that 2,000 slaves were massacred in a single night; and yet the perpetrators of the deed escaped prosecution, the whole community winking at the offence. The servile wars in the Roman Empire are too well known to be dwelt upon. Slavery there certainly formed no elements of strength or greatness. If the slaves who cultivated the soil had been free Roman citizens (a check upon the enervated and luxurious city population) Cæsar might not have been the master of the world, and Rome might have yet been free. Has slavery, in modern times, been the foundation of greatness and civilization? Why, then, have Asia and Africa been subject to non-slaveholding Europe; and South America, with all her slaves, rested stationary in barbarism, whilst North America, under a different policy, has arisen up the first among civilized nations? Modern slavery, more marked and distinctive in its character than ancient, is so much the more terrible in its consequences. Formerly, the color being the same, 'twas easy to merge the slave into the freedman, and the freedman into the citizen; but now the difference of color is an eternal badge of servitude and infamy—an impassable barrier between the two races. The massacre of San Domingo, and the insurrection of South Hampton, speak they of “blessings” of peace of glory and of power? The most overweening self-delusion cannot be deaf to the despairing energy with which all history cries aloud and swears that Deity has not designed that slavery should be the necessary foundation of “liberty”* and civilization! If the Old Testament seemed to sanction the institution of slavery (and I might ask, what phasis of human action under the sun did it not sanction?) there is nothing, surely, in the christian religion which regards slavery with eyes of peculiar approbation. Those precepts upon which are said to “rest the laws and the prophets,” certainly are not the foundations upon which involuntary slavery can intrench itself. The Virginia statute of 1753 first making slaves, excepted Moors and Turks in alliance with the British King, and *christians* and persons once free in a christian land. Thus, it seems, that the founders of slavery in America so far regarded the christian religion at war with slavery, that, in whatever land its immortal banner was raised, it was the shield of the weak and oppressed, the palladium of eternal liberty to the vilest wretch who could clothe himself in the inviolable panoply of the christian name.

I have thus been compelled to answer, reluctantly, some of the arguments in favor of the divine right of slavery: reluctantly, because I deprecate this attempt to treat this subject as a matter of conscience, whilst, at the same time, I cannot silently acquiesce in this wresting the religion of all others among men inculcating freedom and equality, to the unnatural sanction of the most despotic of all known governments—that of master and involuntary servitude.

Christianity, then, seems to have been the foundation of the anti-slavery movement; next was the spirit of the American Revolution. One of the alleged grounds of the rebellion was the importing slaves into the colonies against their consent. In 1778, two years after the Declaration of Independence, Virginia imposed the penalty of £1,000, and the forfeiture of the slave, upon the importer of any slave into that Commonwealth. The act of 1785 makes some amendments to that of '78.

*See Gov. McDuffie's inaugural address, and Mr. Wickliffe's speech on the law of 1832-'3, 1840.

The act of 1794 modifies the above acts, and introduces a clause of emancipation. The act of 1798 again modifies and carries out the prohibitory clause of the Constitution against foreign importation. The act of 1815 imposes the penalty of \$600 upon importation, and the oath. The law of 1832-'3 but does the same. Thus, from 1778 to the present time, has a law similar to this, with the same oath in all, been upon the statute book of our country. Such has been the policy of the slave States from the Revolution to the present time. All the original States, save Massachusetts, were slave States. Through the silent and safe operation of laws like this, slavery has gone south of Mason's and Dixon's line. All of the slave States have had laws similar to this. The importation of slaves is forbidden, to a certain extent, by the constitution of Mississippi. Georgia makes the domestic slave-trade felony—a penitentiary offence. The United States, since 1808, have made the foreign slave-trade piracy; so also have Great Britain, Holland, and France. Although the African be a slave at home, yet is the slave-trade punished with death. Well may gentlemen become the apologists of the slave-trade who advocate the repeal of this law.

Having thus attempted to repel the divine right of slavery, and prove that this law, so far from being an innovation, and contrary to precedent, is in accordance with the settled policy of all our eminent men, from Washington, Jefferson, and Henry, down to the present time—that it is in unison with the spirit of the christian religion, and the advance of civilization and the irresistible moral sentiment of mankind—I shall now attempt to vindicate its constitutionality. I might, indeed, pass on with the single remark, that if the law be constitutional, then I need not linger to prove it—if it be unconstitutional, then the courts will so decide, and it will prove inoperative and stand repealed. But since the honorable chairman of the committee of Courts of Justice has dwelt upon it with some semblance of triumph, the house will pardon me if I travel over the same ground. The argument, so far as the State Constitution is concerned, is so fully treated of in the pamphlets (of myself and the late very talented member from Woodford, T. F. Marshall, in reply to Mr. R. Wickliffe's speech) now lying upon your table, that I shall briefly recapitulate it. We live under two constitutions—the Federal and the State. In the federal constitution, no powers are vested in the legislature but those specifically named, and such subordinate powers as are necessary to carry those named into effect; but in the State constitution, all powers are in the legislature which are not expressly denied by the constitution itself, or which are not given up, specifically, to the general government. In other words, the legislature has all the powers which the people in convention would have, save the restrictions imposed in the written constitutions. Now, look into the State constitution and say, where is the restrictive clause? Where the mandate not to close the door to the importation of slaves? No where; save as to emigrants. About citizens nothing is said, and of course nothing excepted. The legislature can do as they please, so far as citizens are concerned: but how, as to emigrants? "They shall have no power to prevent emigrants to this State from bringing with them such persons as are deemed slaves by the laws of any one of the United States, so long as any person of the same age or description shall be continued in slavery by the laws of this State."—Art. 7, sec. 1. Now, had the constitution have stopped here, a doubt might well have arisen whether we could have prevented emigrants from carrying on the slave-trade under this clause just quoted; but the constitution comes to the rescue, and declares that: "They shall have full power to prevent slaves being brought into this State, as merchandize;" and puts this vexed question to rest forever. Let no man who has the least regard for his legal reputation, dare again disturb it, unless he would become the laughing stock of the very school boys who frequent our moot courts! for even they do scorn to doubt it. The other minute arguments urged against the constitutionality of this law, under the State constitution, such as "the oath," "the jury of the vicinage," and such like special pleading, I leave to those illustrious

dialecticians who have whilome filled the worthy magistracy of our county courts with a most profound estimation of their legal acquirements, by making "confusion worse confounded;" or to that more acute class of reasoners, skilled

"To divide

A hair 'tween north and north east side,"

whom the good natured Butler has made no less distinguished.

I pass on: does the Constitution of the United States give any power to Congress to permit or forbid the importation of slaves from one State to another, and, of consequence, impose any constitutional obstacles in the way of this law? The argument under article 4th, section 2d, clause 1st—"The citizens of each State shall be 'entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States'"—has been abandoned by common consent, as under the law of 1832-'33, the citizens of the several States have not been denied any of the privileges of the citizens of Kentucky. I come, then, to the argument founded upon the 3d clause of the 8th section of the 1st article, "The Congress shall have power to regulate commerce 'with foreign nations and among the several States and with the Indian tribes,'" so strongly urged by the honorable chairman. I warn gentlemen of the dangerous ground upon which they rashly intrench themselves: in their over-heated zeal to flood our State with the refuse slaves of all the jails of all the south, they are advocating and strengthening the only principles on which the abolitionists rest all their hopes of destroying the tenure of slaves. Wherein do the abolitionists differ from the great mass of the citizens of the non-slaveholding States: nay, from the whole civilized world? The abolitionists believe slavery to be an evil; so do all other men of free States. The abolitionists do not believe slavery to be the foundation of civil liberty; all men of free States believe the same, and despise the paradox. The abolitionists believe that they have the right, under the constitution above cited, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia; to abolish the slave-trade between the several States; and, having the right, they believe that they are morally bound to carry their power into sudden execution: therein they diverge off from the great mass of their fellow citizens of the free States, and begin, for the first time, to become practically dangerous to the slave States.

I, sir, have been called an abolitionist. I now challenge gentlemen to the test. I stand opposed to the power of Congress to interfere with the slaves at all; they stand up for Congress and avow her power. The abolitionists stand up for Congress and avow her power to regulate the slave-trade between the several States. Nay, sir, if the gentleman's position be tenable, and he gain a triumph over me in the argument, he will then have proved not only the power of Congress to abolish slavery in the District, and the trade between the several States, but he will also have proved that Congress has the power to declare that men cannot be subjects of property, and that the entire slave population of this Union are free—no longer slaves. For, under the same clause, they have declared, whilst regulating "commerce with foreign nations," that men are not, and cannot be, property, and they have made the foreign slave-trade piracy, and punish it with confiscation and death. The same language is used "and among the several States"—the conclusion follows in such fearful magnitude, that I need not utter it. I pray gentlemen to pause—to re-consider—to retreat—to abandon, now and forever, this untenable and most monstrous position. Standing here in my place, one of the representatives of the independent State of Kentucky, I most solemnly protest against it—I declare war upon it—I am prepared to meet it with argument—I will meet it, if necessary, not only with words, but with the sword also. The gentleman from Breckenridge contends that slaves are *not persons*, but merely goods and chattels—lard kegs and whiskey barrels!—subject to the same rules and regulations as other merchandize; and, in as much as no State may tax the importation of silks or woollens, therefore Kentucky violates the Constitution of the United States, and assumes the power of

Congress, when she puts a tax or penalty of \$600 upon the importation of each slave. He states further, that the Northern States contended in convention that slaves should not be considered *persons*, and that the journal of the convention will so show. It must be a bad cause, indeed, that can drive sensible, thinking, ambitious men to such absurdities as these—slaves not persons? and the free States so contended? Indeed! Suppose they did so contend, was the South so wanting in common sense as to admit it? No! no! the contrary was agreed upon—it was determined that slaves *were persons*; that they were not and should not stand upon the same footing as lard kegs and cider barrels—and because they were *persons*, they became the foundation of representation. Look at the constitution—what are they called? (Art. 1st, sec. 2d, clause 3d.)—“three-fifths of all other *persons*.” Look again at art. 4, sec. 3d, clause 3d, “no *person* held to service, &c.” In these two clauses, slaves are termed *persons*, and are known by no other name in the constitution. Shame on those hypocritical assertors of human liberty and equal rights, who believing slavery to be a “blessing and the foundation of freedom,” did not dare to put the word *slave* in that sacred charter!! Slaves, then, are not things, but persons—the foundation of representation, possessing all the feelings of humanity, and many of the privileges of free white citizens. So far as they are recognized as property, they stand alone peculiar and *sui generis*—the objects of jealousy in the formation of the constitution, and especially and guardedly subjected to the power of Congress. Congress, ’tis true, have entire control over the foreign slave-trade, because *all* power over commerce abroad is *denied* to the States, and especially granted to Congress: and this power over slaves, from foreign countries, is acknowledged in art. 1, sec. 9, clause 1st—“the migration or importation of such persons,” &c. But so soon as you pass the line of a State, the power of Congress ceases: you find no grant of power to interfere with the subject; on the contrary, the entire control of slavery is acknowledged by the constitution as being in the States only. Art. 4th, sec. 2d, clause 3d: “No person held to service, &c.” If Congress could touch the subject at all, then would this clause be null and void, and of no effect; which is absurd. Slaves, then, are persons, and the subjects exclusively of municipal State legislation; and I beg leave here to read, in part, the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of the Mayor, Alderman and Commonalty of the City of New York, plaintiffs, vs. George Miller—(Peters Reports, vol. 2, p. 102.) The corporation of New York, acting under an act of the legislature, imposed certain penalties, recoverable by an action of debt, upon all masters of ships who failed to register the names of passengers, as prescribed by law, and brought suit against the master of the brig Emily for the penalty incurred by the importation of persons from a foreign port, contrary to the statute. The defendant contended, that under the clause of the constitution, giving Congress power to regulate commerce, the statute was unconstitutional; but the Supreme Court decided otherwise. I quote some parts of the decision: “This does not apply to *persons*. They are not subjects of commerce.” “It is not only the right, but the bounden and solemn duty of a State, to advance the safety, happiness, and prosperity of its people, and to provide for its general welfare, by any and every act of legislation which it may deem to be conducive to these ends, where the power over the particular subject, or manner of its exercise, are not surrendered or restrained by the Constitution of the United States.”

“All those powers which relate merely to municipal legislation, or which may more properly be termed internal police, are not surrendered or restrained; and, consequently, in relation to these, the authority of a State is complete, unqualified, and exclusive.”

“*Persons* are not the *subjects of commerce*; and, not being imported goods, they do not fall within the reasoning founded upon the construction of a power given to Congress to regulate commerce, and the prohibition of the States from imposing a duty upon imported goods.” Now, sir, could a case possibly be put more

applicable to my position—that slaves are “persons, subjects of “municipal legislation”—there being in the Constitution of the United States no “restraining” power, nor power “surrendered,”—that they, of consequence, come “exclusively within the authority of the State,”—and that the State is “solemnly and in duty bound to advance the safety, and happiness, and prosperity of its people.” Thus, to sustain me on my ground, I have the implied intentions of the founders of the government, as shown by the State papers of the time; I have the written proof of the Constitution of the United States above cited; I have the actual and continued precedent of all the States of this Union, from the formation of the constitution to the present hour—what more will gentlemen ask? What more could I give? The ablest jurists, of whom Kentucky can boast, formed this law—thanks to the simplicity of genius—the humblest of her sons is able to defend it against all the shafts that baffled ambition may hurl against it.

Shall the law of 1832-'3 be repealed? Shall I not, says the opponent of this law, be allowed to bring in a slave for my own use, if I want? He might also ask, shall I not be allowed to bring in a slave from Africa also? Yet the laws of the United States impose the penalty of death upon the foreign slave-trader; and the domestic slave-traders become, in the eyes of some, very highly respectable gentlemen, who dare denounce the native sons of Kentucky as abolitionists, and enemies of the country, who oppose the same traffick which united America has forbid with death. And, while the President of the United States of America is calling upon Congress to break up, more effectually, the trade in African slaves, they are demanding no less earnestly that this State shall be desecrated, and impoverished, and brutalized, by an overflow of the slough of slavery from all the jails of all the South, to gratify the rapacity and avarice of those lovely specimens of human philanthropy—the professional slave-traders. This indignation at restraint comes with a bad grace from those whose freedom consists in trampling, with an iron heel, upon the human will. Laws are made for short-sighted selfishness; to bend the wayward impulses of the individual mind to subservience to the public good. The gentleman from Breckenridge tells us, that all men are governed by self-interest; and, disguise it as we may, selfishness lies at the bottom of all our actions; that I, the representative of a county with 10,000 slaves, favor this law because it makes them more valuable to the slaveholder; but that the gentleman from Louisville is for the law, because they there have “*white slaves*,” who are *cheaper* than blacks. I confess that I am moved by self-interest; but there are two kinds of self-interest—the one, a narrow, short-sighted, unstatesman-like self-interest, which looks only to immediate consequences—it subserves the passions and the appetites—it is the foundation of all mental, and moral, and physical debasement—it is the instigator of crime, and its end is death. But there is another, enlarged, and far-seeing and statesman-like self-interest—which looks not only to immediate, but secondary and remote consequences—it yields not to impulse, nor to passion, but, subservient to reason—it becomes the ground-work of virtue, wisdom, and immortality. In private life, 'tis the essence of morality; in the public man, it is the true patriotism. Fortunately, however, for Fayette, it is not necessary to draw these nice distinctions, both interests impel her with concentrated force to sustain the law of 1833; for, as the owner of 10,026 slaves, valued at \$3,743,123, is there any slaveholder so blind as not to see that the free importation of slaves reduces, by all the laws of trade, the value of her slave population in proportion to the increase and supply from abroad? While, on the other hand, the far-reaching eye of enlightened patriotism will discover in the increase of the whites, over the slaves, security, and wealth, and progressive greatness to the whole State. Again: if you draw the line between the slave, and the non-slaveholder, as some most recklessly do, you again find that all the interests of both parties unite once more in sustaining the law. For if, by the law, the value of slave labor is increased, so also, by the same law, is the value of white labor increased: for all experience shows,

that the price of black, regulates the price of white labor. And, as it is admitted that *nine-tenths* of the *free white* population of Kentucky are non-slaveholders, or *working men*, will they ever be so infatuated and blind as to lower the price of labor, and starve their own families, to "diffuse the slave population over all the slave States," that southern nabobs may sleep in security, while their own little innocents may cry for bread, or sink into that other sleep, never again to awake? It is the interest of all Kentucky, then, to decrease the number of slaves. Let us see if the law of '33 has had the desired effect.

TABLE No. 1, showing the number of Whites and Blacks in Kentucky.

CENSUS.	Whites.	Slaves and free blacks.	Blacks to Whites.
1790, - - - - -	61.133	11.944	1 to 5.11
1800, - - - - -	179.871	41.084	1 " 4.37
1810, - - - - -	324.237	82.274	1 " 3.94
1820, - - - - -	434.644	129.673	1 " 3.35
1830, - - - - -	517.787	170.130	1 " 3.04
1840, - - - - -	587.017	190.342*	1 " 3.06
Absolute increase of whites and blacks in last ten years from '30 to 1840, - - - - -	69.230	20.212	1 to 3.40

*The Auditors Report makes about 18.00 less slaves.

Thus, from the admission of Kentucky into the Union, down to 1830, the slave population rapidly increased as shown by the census upon the whites—but since '30, by the passage of the law, the whites have rapidly increased upon the blacks—making the absolute increase in ten years of 3.40 whites to 1 black.

TABLE No. 2, showing the increase of the white and the combined free colored and slave population in the slave States in 40 years, from 1790 to 1830, Florida omitted.

STATES.	From 1790 to 1830.	Blacks, increase per cent.	Whites, increase per cent.
Maryland,* - - - - -	1790	40.3794	39.5204
Virginia, - - - - -	"	68.8820	57.0406
North Carolina, - - - - -	"	151.2094	64.0654
South Carolina, - - - - -	"	196.9117	339.8112
Georgia, - - - - -	"	641.7470	461.2185
Kentucky, - - - - -	"	1324.3972	746.9844
Tennessee, - - - - -	"	3768.6607	1573.5264
Mississippi, - - - - -	1800	1702.7241	1260.1661
Louisiana, - - - - -	1810	198.9656	160.6773
Missouri, - - - - -	"	609.2316	566.3667
Alabama, - - - - -	1820	147.7971	97.8347
Arkansas, - - - - -	"	178.4534	104.0782
District of Columbia, - - - - -	1800	204.7182	173.8228
Total increase per cent. in 40 years, - - - - -	- -	207.4671	200.0080
Total increase in the U. States per cent., - - - - -	- -	207.4671	232.1512

*Owing to emancipation, the decrease of Maryland's slave population in 40 years, was 0.0408 per centum.

By reference to the statistics in the pamphlet* on your desk, and the table (marked No. 2) here in my possession, you will find that in the slave States the increase of the black, upon the white population, has been slow, but progressive—whilst, in the whole United States, the whites have increased upon the blacks, from 1790 to 1830, the whites increasing at the rate of 232.15 per centum, and the blacks increasing at the rate of 187.87 per centum. Which, shows, conclusively, that in the free States, the whites increase in a greater ratio upon the same basis, than they do in the slave States, or that slavery is a draw-back upon population; or else it shows, that if the whites propagate as fast in a slave, as in a free State, that emigration is greater, or, immigration less: in either case, the slave State is the loser. If a free white population, then, be an element of wealth and greatness, surely the law of '33 should stand. As a white population is not only the foundation of wealth and military strength, but of representative power in the United States, the contrast between a slave and a free State cannot fail to strike, forcibly, the most unthinking.† Kentucky has the advantage over Ohio in age, and perhaps in natural resources—such as richness of soil, mineral wealth, climate, &c., yet, by the census of 1840, Kentucky has a total of 777,359 inhabitants (increasing in ten years at the rate of 33 per centum) whilst Ohio has, in 1840, 1,514,695 (having increased at the rate of 62.50 per centum in the same ten years) having now a population greater than Virginia, even—(1,210,272.) And, whilst South Carolina has increased her whole population, in ten years, 2 per cent., Massachusetts, of about the same age and natural advantages, has increased 21 per cent. in the same time. What statesman can look at these facts, and yet vote to repeal this law? Who that has the pride and soul of a Kentuckian, would not rather wish that this law had been a part of the constitution itself?

The gentleman from Breckenridge has spoken of the lower classes of New England as being “slaves—worse than slaves,” and because we have alluded to the genius of that people as developed in literature, and especially in the useful sciences and mechanic arts, we are taunted as being allied in feeling to “Yankees.” Since the ever memorable reply of Daniel Webster to the South Carolinian, on Foote’s resolutions, I had supposed that no one would venture to deride the name of “Yankee.” They need no defence at my hands—I shall make none. I am a Kentuckian, of the Virginia descent. I have not been taught to consider praise given to another, as so much detraction from myself; nor have I thought it necessary to establish my claims to the honor of being of the true blood, that I should despise and abuse all the world besides. It is the part of friendship to supply defects, and to correct errors: because I am proud of my state, and love her renown, I call upon her, by all the triumphs of the past, to seek the true road to permanent happiness and ultimate glory.

[Mr. Clay here read from a newspaper an extract, showing that there had been orders from all parts of the world for various kinds of American machinery—grist mills for Holland; steam cars for England; steam vessels for Russia; cotton gins for India, &c. &c.]

I would now ask the advocates of slave labor how long shall we wait ’till we shall be able to supply Europe with such specimens of manufacture and artistical ingenuity? How long before Holland will send to Kentucky for grist mills? How long before the eyes of the gentleman from Breckenridge shall glow at the sight of such railroad steam cars, of Kentucky make, as Philadelphia has lately had the honor of shipping for the admiration of other lands? How long before we shall here see such a steam ship as lately floated in the harbors of New York, for the Emperor of Russia? We have waited for two hundred years to see these things—but, alas! we have not seen them. How many hundred years longer shall our

*Review of R. Wickliffe’s speech, &c., by C. M. Clay, 1840.

†See letters, &c. by T. F. Marshall, pages 28–9, 1840.

hearts fail with the sickness of hope deferred, before we shall partake of the triumph of these creations of "Yankee" genius? Like the doomed Jew, we wander on in darkness and sullen expectancy, clinging with desperate fondness to the cast off idols of days that are gone, unconscious of the heavenly light which surrounds us, and the Deity that moves in our midst! Have we succeeded better in literary eminence? I might ask of the South, as the British reviewer did of America, who reads a southern book? Where are our Irvings and Coopers? Where our Percivals and Hallecks? where our Sillimans, and Hares, and Fultons, and Franklins? Our very presses and paper and primers, even, are of Yankee manufacture. 'Tis true, in the departments of law and politics—those ever tense and exciting professions—those hot-beds of human intellect, we have produced some splendid specimens of mental development, but they only make us more deeply regret that so much mind should lie forever dormant, perishing in embryo, and sunk in the stagnant pools of luxury and indolence which slavery spreads far around, like the fabled Stygian lake—an eternal barrier between its doomed spirits and a higher Heaven? And shall I, then, be taunted with Yankee feeling, because I would dispel the deep lethargy which rests upon our loved Kentucky? Shall I speak of her triumphs upon every battle field, from Lake Erie to the Gulf of Mexico? Shall I tell of her characteristic eloquence which, whether heard in rude accents on the stump, or more polished phrase in halls of national legislation, fears no rivalry? Shall I name her Boones, her Kentons, her Estills, and her Bryants—the hardy stock upon which were grafted the more polished scions of fairer bloom, and fruit more mature? Shall I aggregate her glory, and give names to its impersonations? Shall I speak of her Breckenridges, her Nicholases, her Marshalls, and her Clays—they whose names live with Kentucky, and die when she dies—they who formed the constitution of the State, and breathed into that sacred charter the same free spirit which animated their own bosoms? What said they? that "slavery was a blessing, the foundation of human liberty?" that it should be perpetual? No! sir, no! The law of '33 but carries out and fulfills their just expectations and cherished hopes. The same impress of wisdom and patriotism which characterises that instrument, signed by my father (if I may be pardoned the egotism) and by your father, [Mr. Calhoun's,] marks this law. And it is with feelings of pride and increased confidence, that I find the descendants of those Breckenridges, and Nicholases, and Marshalls, now standing up the most fearless defenders of this same much-abused statute. It is the cause of our fathers which I vindicate—we are degenerate sons if it fail.

The gentleman from Breckenridge would import slaves "to clear up the forests of the south of the State—the Green River country demands the repeal." Take one days ride from this Capitol, and then go home and tell them what you have seen—go tell them that you have looked upon the most fertile and lovely land that nature boasts, and have seen it, in the space of fifty years, worn to the rock—tell them of the drains and clay banks and briar fields—tell them of houses untenanted and decaying—tell them of the depopulation of the interior counties, and the ruin of our villages—tell them all this, and more—tell them that the white Kentuckian has fled before the Ethiopian—tell them you have heard the children of the whites cry for bread, while the black was clothed and fed and laughed: and then ask them, if they will have blacks to fell their forests? Tell them that the Green River is acquiring new strength in this house, while the interior representation is fading away—tell them that Clarke has but one member here, and that Bourbon, which once voted three thousand strong, is reduced to 1,600 voters—tell them that Fayette has 10,000 slaves, as many slaves as she has horses: then ask them, if they will repeal this law? Tell them this, and, my life for it, they will stand for the law forever.

I may be asked, if the worn and waste land, seen even in the richest portions of the State, is owing to slave labor. I answer, yes. Ignorance and carelessness, which are necessarily combined in the slave, make his the most slovenly and

wasteful of all labor. The field is ploughed—a cross furrow is run—the rains fall—the water collects into the common trench—the land is washed to the rock—the slave may be corrected—but the evil is not remedied, and the soil is lost, and the field turned waste. These things will not be seen in the free States: land which here is turned waste, or white oak, and unoccupied, are better bases than those in New England, which have been improved, and have contributed to the sustenance and education of respectable families. The easy life of the slaveholder, destroys his vigilance and activity; supercedes the necessity of economy, and the habit of accumulation—let not, therefore, gentlemen be astonished that the North is radiant with railroads, whilst the South, with more natural resources of wealth, follow an immeasurable distance behind. I shall not dwell upon the fact that all the *educated mind is idle and unproductive*, nor press the fact that idleness leads to crimes innumerable, and saps the foundations of morality, whilst it necessarily induces physical destitution. The effects of slavery upon the temper, the affections, and the moral sensibilities, are too painful to consider—I gladly pass them.

With all these facts pressing upon my every movement, I am denounced, because I will not admit slavery to be a blessing, and receive *more* of it; and the gentleman undertakes to threaten me, and hold me responsible to public opinion, for every word I may utter on this floor. Sir, I strike hands with the gentleman; and when he admits that *"white labor is cheaper than slave labor,"* and that *"slave labor drives out white labor,"* and declares, that *"white laborers are slaves,"* in the name of *five hundred thousand freemen of Kentucky,** I denounce the gentleman as *warring upon their dearest interests, and as pursuing a reckless policy that dries up their subsistence, and out laws and banishes them from their native land!!!* No, sir; the gentleman—not I—is the defender of aristocrats. Let him tell us again, as we have been told before, that slavery stands in the way of education—let him be consistent—let him bring in a bill, as I am told he threatens to do, to abolish the common school system—let him monopolize learning, as well as wealth—let the people rest in deep ignorance forever: then they will never know their rights; and then, and then only, may this law be repealed.

Mr. Chairman, this is not the first time that I have heard the cry of abolitionism. It has no terrors to my ear. Bowie knives, and belted pistols, and the imprecations of a maddened mob's vengeance, have not driven me from my country's cause. My blood, and the blood of all whom I hold most dear, is ready when she calls for the sacrifice. But I shall be a tame victim neither to force nor to denunciation; and whilst abolitionism rages in the North, backed by Holland, and France, and England, and, if you please, urged on by a world in arms, there is in these United States a party still more dangerous to all, that makes life desirable or liberty glorious. Never, sir, till after the ever-memorable and impotent attempt of South Carolina to dissolve this Union, did I hear or read of slavery as the only foundation of human liberty. The message of Governor McDuffie has the bad eminence of having broached and set forth this monstrous and unheard-of doctrine, that filled the whole civilized world with astonishment and dismay. A distinguished gentleman of Fayette, and the honorable member from Breckenridge, are the only avowed converts to this new religion that I have ever seen. I am bound to believe that the honorable member is not initiated into the greater mysteries of this modern sect—nay, sir, I will undertake to say that he is not; but standing here in my place, with a just sense of all the weighty responsibilities which rest upon me as a man, and as the representative of a gallant State, I declare that there is a party in this country, who, disregarding all the sacred memories of the past, and the yet more glorious anticipations of the future, would forever destroy the union

*There are in round numbers 600,000 whites in Kentucky—there cannot be one slaveholder in six—about one in ten is perhaps a true estimate.

of these States. They are the advocates of perpetual slavery—they are “the last state” nullifiers, *southern unionists*—they are the *disunionists*. Conventions must be held, says South Carolina—conventions must be held, say some in Kentucky*—conventions must be held, says the Governor of Alabama*—“the slave population must be diffused over all the slave States”—rules must be adopted for mutual safety and permanent security of slave property. Can any man in his senses, affect to misunderstand to what all this leads? I declare, sir, Kentucky is this day called upon to act—to take her stand now and forever. I know not what course others may pursue, but, for my single self, I have made up my mind—“sink or swim, live or perish, I stand by the” Union.

Shall we rest in fatal security till this law is repealed—the slave population diffused—conventions held—till we are shorn of our strength by calumny, and bound hand and foot, and given over by our leaders to this Southern Union? No. I lift up my voice now—here, in the face of all Kentucky, I do most solemnly *protest against these treasonable schemes!* The broad banner of the United States’ constitution is my shield and only safety—tear not my State—let not, I implore you, old Kentucky pass from under its hallowed panoply. Let it not be in vain that Adams, and Franklin, and Henry, and Jefferson, and Madison, and Hamilton, have lived—not in vain that Washington, and Green, and Lincoln, and Lafayette, and heroes innumerable, hoped, and bled, and died—not in vain that liberty has been proclaimed throughout the world, and the sunken spirits of millions elevated by the cry of freedom! Let not the treasure and blood which, in the last war—the second revolution, added fresh laurels to a “nation of brothers,” have been spent in vain! Let not the Thames, and Erie, and Champlain, and New Orleans, rest in vain in the memories of men. By all the deep and unextinguishable yearnings of the immortal spirit for all that is good and glorious! let not our hopes perish! let not the Union be dissolved! In the day of its trial, there shall be one Kentuckian shrouded under the stars and stripes—one heart undesecrated with the faith that *slavery is the foundation of civil liberty*—one being who could not live in a government *denying the right of petition, abolishing the liberty of the press, and the liberty of speech*—one man who would not be the outlaw of nations—the *slave of a slave!*

[After full discussion of the policy of the law, the House of Representatives rejected the bill to repeal the law of 1832-’3, by a vote of 25 majority—the Senate, by a vote of 23 to 14.]

ARTICLE VII OF THE CONSTITUTION OF KENTUCKY, CONCERNING SLAVES.

SEC. 1. The General Assembly shall have no power to pass laws for the emancipation of slaves without the consent of their owners, or without paying their owners, previous to such emancipation, a full equivalent in money for the slaves so emancipated. They shall have no power to prevent emigrants to this State from bringing with them such persons as are deemed slaves by the laws of any one of the United States, so long as any person of the same age or description shall be continued in slavery by the laws of this State. They shall pass laws to permit the owners of slaves to emancipate them, saving the rights of creditors, and preventing them from becoming a charge to any county in this Commonwealth. They shall have full power to prevent slaves being brought into this State as merchandise.

*Late message of the Governor of Alabama, and R. Wickliffe’s speech.

They shall have full power to prevent any slaves being brought into this State, from a foreign country, and to prevent those from being brought into this State, who have been since the first day of January, one thousand seven hundred and eighty nine, or may hereafter be imported into any of the United States from a foreign country. And they shall have full power to pass such laws as may be necessary, to oblige the owners of slaves to treat them with humanity, to provide for them necessary clothing and provision, to abstain from all injuries to them, extending to life or limb; and in case of their neglect or refusal to comply with the directions of such laws, to have such slave or slaves sold for the benefit of their owner or owners.

AN ACT to amend the law prohibiting the importation of Slaves into this State, approved February 2, 1833.—*Session Acts, page 258.*

SEC. 1. *Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky,* That each and every person or persons who shall hereafter import into this State any slave or slaves, or who shall sell or buy, or contract for the sale or purchase, for a longer term than one year, of the service of any such slave or slaves, knowing the same to have been imported as aforesaid, he, she, or they, so offending, shall forfeit and pay six hundred dollars for each slave so imported, sold, or bought, or whose service has been so contracted for, recoverable by indictment of a grand jury or an action of debt, in the name of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, in any circuit court of the county where the offender or offenders may be found: *Provided, however,* That nothing herein contained shall be construed to authorize a recovery of the aforesaid penalty from any emigrant or emigrants to this State, for, or on account of, his, her, or their having brought with them any person or persons deemed slaves by the laws of any one of the United States, if such emigrant or emigrants shall, within sixty days after his, her, or their arrival into this State, have taken, before some justice of the peace, the following oath or affirmation, to-wit: "I, ———, do solemnly swear, (or affirm,) that my removal to the State of Kentucky was with intention of becoming a citizen thereof, and that I have brought with me no slave or slaves with intention of selling them, so help me God." And shall also, within thirty days after taking such oath, have had the same recorded in the office of the clerk of the county court of the county in which the oath or affirmation was taken. Nor shall any thing herein contained authorize a recovery of the penalty aforesaid against any person or persons, for, or on account of, his, her, or their having imported into this State, any slave or slaves, provided he, she, or they, prove on the trial, to the satisfaction of the jury, that he, she, or they were travellers or sojourners, making only a transient stay in this State, and brought such slave or slaves for the purpose of necessary attendance, and with the intention of again carrying them out of the State.

SEC. 2. *Be it further enacted,* That this act shall not be construed to extend to any person or persons who are residents of this State, and who derive title to such slave or slaves by will, descent, distribution, or marriage, or gift in consideration of marriage.

SEC. 3. *Be it further enacted,* That for a violation of any of the provisions of this act, an indictment may be found on the information of any one of the grand jury, or on the information of any other credible witness, and no prosecutor shall be necessary.

SEC. 4. *Be it further enacted,* That it shall be the duty of the attorneys for the Commonwealth now in office, at their first court after the passage of this act, and every other attorney for the Commonwealth who may be hereafter commissioned, at the time of taking the oath of office, to take a solemn oath that they

will faithfully prosecute all offenders against this act within their knowledge, or of which they may be informed, and who may be found within their respective districts: and in each case of conviction, the prosecuting attorney shall be entitled to a fee of twenty per cent. out of the amount collected, and the balance shall be paid into the public Treasury, and set apart as a fund, to be under the direction of the Governor, and such other or others as the Legislature may appoint, for colonizing the free persons of color on the coast of Africa.

SEC. 5. *Be it further enacted*, That it shall not be construed an importation, within the meaning of this act, for the owner or owners, after he, she, or they may have hired their slave or slaves to any person or persons out of this State, to bring such slave or slaves to this State, if such owner or owners be citizens of this State, and have in their possession in this State such slave or slaves at the time of the hire.

SEC. 6. *Be it further enacted*, That it shall be lawful for any justice of the peace of this Commonwealth, when information on oath shall be given him, that any person or persons have violated this act, to issue his warrant, directed to the sheriff, constable, or to some named individual, and cause such person or persons to be apprehended and brought before him or some justice of the peace: and the justice before whom such person or persons shall be brought, shall hold an inquiry into the truth of the charge, and hear the evidence that either party may produce: and if it shall appear to such justice, that such person or persons, are guilty of a violation of this act, he shall cause the person or persons, so adjudged guilty by him, to be recognized in the sum of six hundred dollars, with one or more good security or securities, conditioned to appear at the next circuit court for the county, and answer the charge, and their failure to give such recognizance, to commit such person or persons to the jail of the county until the recognizance be given: and the justice shall also recognize the witnesses to appear at the same court and testify against such person or persons, and not to depart without the leave of the court.

SEC. 7. *Be it further enacted*, That any action or prosecution, which shall be brought for a violation of any of the provisions of this act, may be commenced at any time within five years from the commission of the offence, or the accrual of the cause of action and not after.

SEC. 8. *Be it further enacted*, That it shall be the duty of each of the circuit judges in this Commonwealth, to give this act in charge to every grand jury impaneled in the courts in which they preside; also, to cause to be brought before the grand jury, to give evidence, any and every person who may be thought by the court or attorney for the Commonwealth to have any knowledge of a violation of this act; so much of each and every act or acts of the General Assembly, as comes within the purview of this act, shall be, and the same is hereby repealed.

S P E E C H
OF
CASSIUS M. CLAY,

BEFORE THE
LAW DEPARTMENT OF THE UNIVERSITY

OF ALBANY, N. Y.,

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SPEECH OF J. C. M. CLAY.

Introduction.

GENTLEMEN OF THE LAW DEPARTMENT, LADIES, AND
FELLOW-CITIZENS :

All history unites in one conclusion ; that knowledge and virtue constitute the basis of the permanent grandeur and safety of nations. Human happiness is not the result of chance ; this aspiration of all humanity, Deity yields us but on conditions ; we must know and do. Montesquieu tells us that honor is the principle of Monarchies ; and virtue of Republics. I am of the opinion that honor, in the sense of a haughty, self-seeking elevation, never was the basis of any permanent greatness : and that virtue is the only safe foundation of all Governments. The Empires of Alexander and Napoleon passed away ; the one with, and the other before, its creative intelligence ! On the *true* and the *right* only have been built the lasting nationalities.

The founders of our Republic were not ignorant of this fact : and, in the enacting clause of the Constitution, they declared one of its great objects to be, to "*establish justice.*" Tautological was it then in them to include "liberty," among their purposes. For, without justice, there is no liberty ; and what is liberty but justice—which, perceiving the true relation of all things, obeys them ? These

eternal relations of things are "laws." Well may it then be said, that "without law, there is no liberty." I stand before you the defender of "law." A citizen of the United States, and a "Republican," I would vindicate my party, and my country; for I believe they are one. I stand by "the Union, the Constitution, and the laws." *The Constitution as it is.* The Union *as our fathers designed it*: as it ought to be: based not upon injustice, usurping the name of law; but truly upon the law of nature, and of nature's God.

First, then, we claim the name of "*Republican*," because it best represents what we are; it is a good name: let us never abandon it! It is not our fault, in this crisis of life and death to the nation, that party names and party organizations are revived. I ardently hoped that, in this struggle for our national being, all citizens of "the United States of America" would have stood for them, in support of their chosen "powers that be." But the "Democratic" party has decreed otherwise: and we have nothing left but to accept the issue. I accept it with reluctance, but not with fear. I have no personal enmities to avenge: the friends of my country are my friends: the enemies of my country are my enemies. If we are right, we will stand: if we are wrong, we will fall. It is a significant fact, that, the foes of our Republic abroad, in the rebel States, and in our Northern homes, all take common ground against us.

Who is Responsible for the War?

It is said that the Republican party is responsible for the war. That our violation of the Constitutional rights of the Slave States gave them cause for "secession"—that the refusal of the Republicans to return fugitive slaves,

through mobs and "personal liberty bills," enacted into law in some Republican States, was in violation of the Constitution, and just cause of a dissolution of the Union.

Grant its truth, for argument's sake ; because a man is injured in violation of the civil law, must he rebel against the Government? Certainly not : else all law must perish, and universal anarchy desolate mankind. The true remedy under our form of government is reform, not revolution : the ballot of the majority, not the bayonet of the minority. But all jurists agree that those who demand, shall do justice. The Republican party did, following the irrepressible instincts of nature, sometimes forget the law. But what the Free States did exceptionally, the Slave States did systematically. They never held the Constitution higher than slavery ; they made mob-violence the rule ; regard to the Constitution, the exception. From the foundation of the Government in 1789, to the year 1861, in which that tyranny broke out into armed rebellion, there never was a day in which the Constitution of the United States was enforced ; or could without war have been enforced in the Slave States. Article 3, section 2, of the Constitution of the United States, declares, that : "The judicial power shall extend to controversies between two or more States—between a State and citizens of another State—and between citizens of different States ;" yet South Carolina, the chief mover in this rebellion, in the most formal, insulting, and violent manner, in violation of the above clause in the Constitution, expelled Massachusetts from her borders, seeking, by an appeal to the courts, redress for repeated injuries ; and then by State authority made this violence into law. Of course, all redress for similar denials of justice to private citizens of the United States has been systematically denied, in all the Slave States.

Again : article 4, section 2, United States Constitution, declares that, "The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." The Constitution of the United States and the Constitutions of all the States have declared in favor of freedom of assemblage of the people—freedom of utterance by speech and writing—and freedom of religion ; and yet in no Slave State have these rights of American citizenship been allowed. They have been in some Slave States forbidden by law, and in all suppressed by systematic mob-violence, which, in the most liberal of them, was declared, by the most "respectable" Slave-holding citizens, to be "the common law" of the South. I stop, not to give isolated cases, as the annexation of Texas, and the armed violence in Kansas, but confine myself to these systematic violations of the Constitution. How dare, then, the enemies of the Republican party to plead our disregard of the Constitution in vindication of the Southern Rebellion ? The world knows that this charge of the slave-holders and their allies is not only a calumny against us, but not at all the cause of the rebellion. For the fact is notorious, that the slave interest held power over us, not only in the veto of a Democratic President, but in a pro-slavery court of the United States, and a senatorial and legislative majority in the Congress, at the day and hour when they entered into this crime against human nature.

Is there Legal Right in the Slave-Holders' Rebellion ?

These allegations of offense falling to the ground, have the States in rebellion any power under the Constitution to "*secede* ?" If this Union is a "confederation," the violation of its terms might be a cause of disunion. But

certainly it is not. We had a "confederation;" it was full of will, but had no power to enforce it. History is before us. We overthrew the old confederation of these States, simply because it was a "confederation," and not a *Government*. Ignoring the States, we met as a great nation of a continent, to form, according to the enacting clause of the Constitution of 1789, "a more perfect Union." It declares itself what it is—it speaks not of States, but men. "We, the *people* of the United States, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America." The States are not "sovereign." There cannot be two sovereigns in one territory. The Constitution declares that the National Constitution is the sovereign. The regulation of commerce "with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes" (art. 1, sec. 8, clause 3), is a "sovereign" power; it is given only to the National Legislature. "To establish a uniform rule of naturalization"—"to levy and collect taxes, duties, and imports, and excises"—to make "uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies"—"to coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures"—"to establish post-offices and post-roads"—"to promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries." "To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the laws of nations." "To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water." "To raise and support armies—to provide and support a navy." "To provide for the organizing armies and disciplining the militia." These are

all sovereign powers claimed for the National Government. But this is not all. The States are *forbidden* after 1808 to import slaves without the consent of Congress. "No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation—grant letters of marque or reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility"—"no State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws, &c.—and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war, in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay." But to crown all and forever to silence all dispute, article 6, section 2, United States Constitution, declares: "This Constitution and the laws of the United States, which shall be made, in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land, anything in the laws or Constitution of any State to the contrary notwithstanding." Here, then, is an end of all argument. So thought Judge Story (*Martin v. Hunter*: Wheaton, 324–27). "The Constitution of the United States was established, not by the States in their sovereign capacity, but emphatically, as the preamble of the Constitution declares, by "the people of the United States." So thought John Marshall (*Cohens v. Virginia*: 6 Wheaton, 413–14). "The Constitution and the laws of

a State, so far as they are repugnant to the Constitution and laws of the United States, are absolutely void. They are members of the *one great Empire*." So thought Daniel Webster, in his immortal reply to Hayne in the Senate, January, 1830 : "It is, sir, the people's Constitution ; the people's Government : made for the people—made by the people—and answerable to the people. The people of the United States have declared that this Constitution shall be the supreme law." Such is history, the Constitution, judicial decisions ; and the authority of our most illustrious men. "Secession" has no warrant in the Constitution, but is in violation of its spirit and its language ; is treason ; and its authors, aiders, and abettors, deserve death.

The Right of Revolution: and of Unity.

But we are told that the Slave States have the right of revolution—and they are the judges of the necessity. I grant that there is, according to our declaration of independence, an inherent right of revolution among all peoples. But this is the right of the oppressed majority against an oppressive minority. What is the absurdity, then, of this slave-power, at the time itself a controlling majority, revolting against an impotent minority ? Besides, if there is a right of revolution, there is a right of self-preservation.

Locke (*Work upon Government* : B : 2) declares that government is founded upon the "consent" of the people, "wherein a majority have a right to act."

Vattel (*Laws of Nations* : B : 1 : ch. 2) says : "Every nation is obliged to perform the duty of self-preservation."—"The body of a nation cannot then abandon a province, a town, or even a particular person, who has done his

part, unless obliged to it *from necessity*." "Since, then, a nation is obliged to preserve itself, it has a right to every thing necessary to its preservation, provided these means are not unjust in themselves, or absolutely forbidden by the laws of nations."

Edmund Burke (Reflections on the Revolution in France) eloquently pleads for the unity of nations: "Society is indeed a contract : * * * but the State ought not to be considered as nothing better than a partnership in trade, of pepper and coffee, calico and tobacco, to be broken up for a little temporary interest, and to be dissolved by the fancy of the parties. It is to be looked on with other reference—because it is not a partnership in things subservient only to the gross animal existence, of a temporary and perishable nature. It is a partnership in science—a partnership in all art—a partnership in every virtue, and in all perfection. As the ends of the partnership cannot be obtained in one, in many generations, it becomes a partnership not only between those who are living, but between those who are living, those who are dead, and those who are to be born." We accept the blood-bought compact of the Constitution, which is our inheritance, its enjoyment, and its defense.

The world knows who struck the first parricidal blow at its life; and, as we did not first draw the sword, so we will be the last to sheathe it, till the Union be restored, and the Constitution be vindicated, we "never will lay down our arms—never!"

"Habeas Corpus."

Those who find fault with our cause, of course find fault with our method of defense. It is urged that President Lincoln has violated the Constitution, in the suspension of

the privilege of *habeas corpus*; in that clause (art. 1, sec. 9, cl. 2. C. U.S.) which declares that "The writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it." I too complain of President Lincoln in the exercise of this power; not because he has exercised it at all; but because he has not done it efficiently. I would have spared the insignificant traitors; but I would have brought those eminent in evil to summary military execution! But how is it attempted to be proved that the President has acted in violation of law? I find that the "Federalist" only alludes to this clause, as one of those which stand in place of a bill of rights. Judge Story, in his "Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States," avoids the question by simply saying, "it would *seem*, as power is given to Congress to suspend the writ in cases of invasion and rebellion, that the right to judge whether exigency had arisen must exclusively belong to that body." Judge Kent says nothing in his Commentaries upon it. So, having no authority upon the subject, we are left to precedent and to our own reasoning. In the Burr conspiracy, Congress having refused to give him the power, Thomas Jefferson arrested Burr on his own authority. So Gen. Jackson's suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* at New Orleans was sustained by the American People, by a restoration of the fine imposed by the civil authorities. It is contended, because the clause is found in the group of powers belonging to Congress, that, therefore, it is forbidden to the President. It is the 2d clause of article 1, section 9. But clause 7 of the same section is, that: "No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law." Will any man dare say that this clause applies to Congress, and not to the President? On the contrary, does

not every one see that it applies more especially to the President, who, from his power of appointment, is just the person most dangerous in this respect? The argument, then, proves too much, or nothing. If, because this second clause is found in section 9, the President is forbidden its use; then, by the same reasoning, the prohibition of section 7 applies also to Congress, and not to the President. But, as no one will venture to contend for the last, they must abandon the first also.

The Congress makes the laws, but does not execute them. Reason would say that he who executes is the one, if the emergency should arise, to suspend them. The Congress is only bound by oath to "*support*" the Constitution; but the President is specially bound to "solemnly swear to preserve, protect, and defend, the Constitution of the United States." If there is a fitness in any one suspending that writ, it belongs most certainly to him. He is commander of the army and navy: he is bound to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed." These are duties that are imposed, not upon Congress, but upon him only. All fair reasoning, then, gives him the right to say when the public safety, in rebellion or invasion, may require its suspension. "The Madison Papers" would seem to justify this conclusion (vol. 2, p. 741). "The Legislature of the United States shall pass no law upon the subject of religion—nor touching the liberty of the press"—but the phraseology is at once changed, and it goes on to say—"nor shall the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* ever be suspended," &c. The next time the clause is again named, in Pinckney's report, the Congress or Legislature is again mentioned; and on the final passage, it is *dropped*. In most cases, where the phraseology was changed, it was done with a purpose. No doubt, on

a subject of so much importance, this was not here done without design. It was matured in committee: and the inference is, that this power was designed to be left with the President, or wherever experience should best fix it.

I am of the opinion, therefore, that its exercise has fallen into the right hands; and it has been constitutionally exercised. This writ we inherit with the common law from our British ancestry. But there is nothing dangerous in its exercise. It was wrested from Charles II., by the people, against kings, who, like Louis XIV., claimed to be the State. It was taken from a tyrant to protect the people. But here it is given by the people to their own Executive servant, for their own safety.

The history of this country proves that all the fears affected by the Democratic party, in this regard, are imaginary, or traitorous. The whole force of the Government is centrifugal, not central. The most popular Presidents, with all their patronage, have rarely been able to keep the Congress permanently on the side of the administration. The Government has never been strong enough to vindicate the Constitution in the Slave States. Its ruin is now threatened, not by the Federal despotism, but by the false doctrine of State rights; and, if the Union fails, it fails by its too great weakness, and not by its too great strength; and upon this issue we go before the people and the world.

The Proclamation of the 22d September, 1862.

The immortal proclamation of the 22d of September is equally unpalatable to the Democracy. They know very well that to destroy the pro-slavery power of the South is to destroy the right wing of their political army, and to overthrow forever the foundation of their power in this

Republic. Hence this clamor of "great is Diana of the Ephesians," and "of the overthrow of the Constitution!"

These traitors to the Constitution, who habitually, in the name of slavery, overrode all its guarantees of citizenship and liberty—who used the army of the United States in Kansas in unison with mob violence to the overthrow of the elective franchise—who, for the first time in history, conspired the destruction of the Government which a deluded people had confided to their sworn protection—who avowedly usurped all those powers which belonged exclusively to the National Empire and not to the States; who dispersed and demoralized our armies; scattered over distant seas our small, but faithful and gallant navy; who robbed our treasury, secretly took the public arms, and at last broke out into rebellion by seizing the public moneys, forts, and arsenals—setting up a separate confederacy, and firing upon the ships, men, and forts of the United States—I say, those traitors to the Constitution and humanity received no word of censure for these violations of national law and eternal justice. No; it is for us, who are faithful to all, and would defend all, to the sacrifice of whatever is sacred among men, that these sympathizers with treason, its aiders and abettors, reserve all their ire and denunciation.

Its Legality.

Let us see, then, if the proclamation violates the Constitution, or not. Vattel (*Laws of Nations*, B. 3, ch. 18) says, after defining "sedition," and "insurrection," "When in a Republic a nation is divided into two opposite factions, and both sides take up arms, this is called a civil war." "These two parties are two distinct people." "Thus they are in the case of two nations who have a dispute

which they cannot adjust, and are compelled to decide it by force of arms." "The obligation of observing the common laws of war are therefore absolute—and the same which the law of nature obliges all nations to observe between State and State." Foreign nations have acknowledged the *de facto* government of the "Confederate States" and allowed them all the rights of belligerents. In that action we have acquiesced, and confirmed it by exchange of prisoners of war, and similar admissions. We have, then, the same rights of war against the "Confederate States" as we have against other nations, which rights are determined by the laws of nations solely, and not at all by the Constitution of the United States. Now, there is no dispute as to the rights or laws of war. Chancellor Kent (Com., sec. 5, p. 89) says: "The end of war is to procure by force the justice which cannot be otherwise obtained, and the laws of nations allow the means necessary to the end. The persons and property of the enemy may be attacked, and captured or destroyed, when necessary to procure reparation or security." Says Vattel (Laws of Nations, B. 3, ch. 8): "On a declaration of war, therefore, the nation has a right of doing against the enemy whatever is necessary to this justifiable end of bringing him to reason, and obtaining justice and security from him." "It gives a right of doing against the enemy whatever is necessary for weakening him; of disabling him from making any further resistance in support of his injustice; and the most proper, the most effectual methods may be chosen, provided they have nothing odious, be not unlawful in themselves, or exploded by the law of nature."

Such is the doctrine laid down by Wheaton and all publicists. If, then, the slaves of the Confederate States are *men*, we have the right to capture or destroy them; if they are

property, we have the right to deprive their claimants of its use, and thus compel them to submission. The Emperor of Russia, in the arbitration between England and the United States, decided that slaves were legal capture by the rights of war. J. Q. Adams held that even in a slave insurrection, the slaves might be made free. Judge Clover, in case of *Com. vs. Ben. Williams*, in St. Louis, has pronounced the proclamation constitutional.

Its Justice.

This property of slaves the President proposes to restore to liberty; not to destroy it, by death. If there is a law of nature, this is one; if there is a humanity in war, this is the noblest! That man has a natural right to his liberty has been held by the wise and good of all ages, and of all religions. Justinian (*Just. Insts.*, lib. 1, tit. 2, § 2) says: “*Jure enim naturali omnes homines ab initio liberi nascebantur.*” De Wolpius (*Legs. Natm.*) declares: “Nations are so many particular persons living together in a state of nature,” and “they are born naturally free.” Montesquieu (*L’Esprit des Lois*, B. 17, ch. 5), relates: “In the North were found those valiant people, who sallied forth to destroy tyrants and slaves, and to teach men that, nature having made them *equal*, reason could not render them dependent.” And again (B. 15, ch. 5): “But, as all men are born *equal*, slavery must be accounted unnatural.”

The French National Assembly (August 20, 1789) proclaimed that: “All men are born and continue *free and equal*, as to their rights.” The Declaration of the Fourth of July, 1776, declared: that “all men are created equal—endowed with certain inalienable rights—among which are—*liberty*.” For my part, I always scorn to debate so self-evident a truth; for, to me, the plainest of rights is the right of a man to himself.

Its Safety and Expediency.

Whilst there is no sane man outside the Slave States who doubts the legality and justice of the abolition of slavery, let us, then, examine the expediency of immediate liberation. Whilst we have ever held that what is right is always expedient, for those of less faith in the right, we give the experience of emancipation in the West Indies. M. Cochin, a learned French philanthropist, has just published a work, termed "The Results of Emancipation" (translated by Mary S. Booth, Boston: 1863), in which he examines, from the statistical reports of all the governments, the effects of emancipation in the West Indies. He concludes that the experiment is a success in all respects. That there are more property-holders—more families—more priests—more churches—higher price of lands—increased gross consumption—equal exportation of tropical products—smaller armies—fewer persons in prison under freedom, than, before, under slavery. In a word, that "liberty, property, and family," the loss of which sunk the man into a slave, have been restored, by raising the slave into a man. The expediency of immediate over gradual liberation, was fully proved by experience. England passed her act of emancipation August 28, 1833, giving £40,000,000 for 800,000 slaves, and extending the system of gradualism or apprenticeship for seven years, till 1840. But, on the 1st of August, 1838, she was forced to immediate liberation. In France, the Convention of 1789 proclaimed immediate emancipation. In consequence of the opposition of the slaveholders, this act was resisted till 1794, when repeated insurrections compelled immediate emancipation, which brought with it peace. Slavery was attempted and partially restored, under Napoleon, in 1802, with all the horrors of bloodshed on both sides ; in which barbarities

the whites excelled the blacks—importing ship-loads of bloodhounds from Cuba! Liberty was restored in 1830; abolished under the monarchy, and again finally established in 1848. The Danes tried gradualism, and abandoned it, as a failure, July 3, 1848. Sweden abolished slavery at once, in 1846. The Dutch abolished slavery in her East India possessions, May 7, 1859, and in the West Indies, July 1, 1862. England gave a compensation to the slaveholders of \$125 per head: the Dutch the same: the French \$106. Gradual emancipation always proved a failure; and abolition a success. The danger of massacre comes from slavery and oppression: not from liberty and humanity. The Duke de Broglie, speaking of English abolition, says: “The summons to freedom of 800,000 slaves at the same moment has not caused, in all the English colonies, the tenth part of the disturbance ordinarily caused by the smallest political question that agitates minds ever so little, amongst the most civilized nations of Europe.”

M. Cochin thus sums up his conclusions: “Nearly a million of men, women, and children have passed from the condition of cattle to the rank of rational beings. Numerous marriages have elevated the family above the mire of a nameless promiscuousness. Paternity has replaced illegitimacy. Churches and schools are opened. Religion, before mute, factious, and dishonored, has resumed its dignity and liberty. Men, who had nothing, have acquired property. Lands which were waste have been occupied: inadequate populations have increased: detestable processes of agriculture and manufacture have been replaced by better: a race, reputed inferior, vicious, and lascivious, idle, refractory to civilization, religion, and instruction, has shown itself honest, gentle, disposed to family life, accessible to Chris-

tianity, eager for instruction. Those of its members who have returned to vagrancy, sloth, and corruption, are not a reproach to race as much as to the servitude which has left them wallowing in their native ignorance and depravity; but these are a minority. The majority labor, and show themselves far superior to the auxiliaries which China and India send to the colonists. In two words, wealth has suffered little; civilization has gained much. Such is the balance-sheet of the English experiment." If calamity, then, shall follow the proclamation, it will be the fault of the masters, not of the President, nor of the freed blacks.

What shall be done with the Freed Blacks?

When the rebel States shall be subdued: when the State Constitutions shall be made free: when the lands of the rebels shall be confiscated, and sold, or divided between loyal and armed occupants, the blacks can be employed as hired laborers upon the same lands they now occupy. If wages are sufficient to induce work, very well: if not, then let them be compelled to work, and be paid. Let schools and churches be established: and let civil and political rights be extended to the blacks, as they shall in time prove worthy of them.

I proclaim a free political salvation. I have nothing to do with the equality or inequality of races. I have to do with the equality of civil and political rights; and I am for extending them to all nations, without regard to color, religion, or language, only, as they shall prove worthy of the boon. It is not for me, whose British ancestors, so late as the overthrow of the Roman Republic, were savages, and pagans, and cannibals, to sit in judgment upon the rank of nations and races. I have no respect for that De-

mocracy, or that Republicanism, North or South, which denies, without regard to merit, civil rights to the blacks. They are far more worthy of civil and political liberty than many of those who are fiercest in the denunciation of them. The allegation, that Deity has decreed the eternal slavery of any race, is a calumny against man, and a blasphemy against God. Equally do I despise the hypocrisy of those defenders of slavery and the slave trade, who vaunt them before the world as, at one time, civilizing and Christianizing the African ; and yet, when we propose liberation, contend that three hundred years of such schooling only fit them to cut the throats of their benefactors ! The difficulty of this whole question is solved by laying down our prejudices, and using a little common sense. Recognize the slaves as men, and treat them according to their merit or demerit, and all difficulties disappear. Labor everywhere will be freed from the competition of unpaid wages. The blacks will, by the law of nature and the proof of history, gravitate towards the tropics. The tropical productions will not be decreased ; whilst consumption will increase. The commerce and manufactures of the North will be enlarged, instead of being destroyed. In a word, industry will everywhere be encouraged ; because labor, being free, will be everywhere made honorable.

Our Foreign Relations, and Slavery.

Whatever may be the feelings of foreign aristocracies against Republicanism, the liberals of all Europe are for the principles of freedom and emancipation. Whilst the people of England are secured to us by the proclamation, the Government dare not intervene on the side of slaveholders. Russia is with us upon the basis of common in-

terests; and whilst the other monarchies may threaten us on one side, we are, on the other, safe in the defense of the greatest liberal of all Europe, Alexander II., who is more worthy of the name of "the Great," for the millions he has made free, than Alexander Macedon was for the millions he made slaves! But, after all, we must rely upon ourselves, our glorious cause, and the heroism of our troops. United at home, we may safely defy a world in arms. Whilst I am grateful to friends, I have no words of self-abasement for our haughty foes at home or abroad. Notwithstanding the cry of "radicalism," I have still faith in humanity. I neither despair of my principles, nor of the Republic. They will both, I trust, live long after the desponding prophecies of disappointed demagogues and the blows of ambitious traitors shall have been alike forgotten.

Slavery in the Loyal States.

The President and the Republican party leave slavery in the loyal states where they found it. We have never claimed any political power to abolish it there. We have claimed and exercised the power to abolish it in the District of Columbia, in the Territories, and in all places of exclusive national jurisdiction. This is glory enough for any administration. The proposition to compensate the slave-owners in the loyal States, who shall liberate their bondsmen, is, on our part, magnanimous and patriotic. I approve the policy, and I urged the justice and expediency of its adoption upon the representatives of Kentucky, in the hall of the House of Representatives in August last. It is for them to adopt or reject the proposition.

But whether for or against the proclamation, and the scheme of emancipation, the loyalty of my native State I

have never doubted. A hereditary Slave State herself, she has ever made slavery subordinate to the higher interests secured by the Constitution and the Union. Whatever opinion she may have of Republican policy—there she stands, and there she will ever stand. Besides, were she less loyal, she is not less wise, for she knows that the way to save the slavery of the South is not to join the rebellion, but to subdue it. That, with peace, the military power of the President ceases, and the whole right over slavery survives in the States themselves.

Independent reasons why Slavery should be destroyed.

In reply to all these arguments, we are met with the Democratic cant of “the Union as it was.” There never was, and never can be, any cordial union between liberty and slavery. Liberty depends upon equality of civil and political rights : slavery is subversive of both. Liberty fosters education, and religion, and virtue : slavery opposes all. Liberty desires a fair distribution of lands, and other property, among the whole population : slavery tends to a monopoly of both. Liberty respects labor : slavery despises it. Liberty encourages the arts, manufactures, and commerce : slavery is incapable of them. Liberty makes and obeys law : slavery defies it. Liberty advances civilization : slavery returns to barbarism. Liberty appeals to justice, and the nobler sentiments, for its safety : slavery to force, and the animal instincts, and fears. Liberty is our ideal of the Divine Beneficence : slavery the fullest manifestation of the evil, which follows the ignoring of the laws of God. “The Union as it was” was not even a truce between these conflicting powers : from the beginning, before the Constitution, and after it, there was a secret war, in the home and foreign policy of the country ; in the acquisition and control of territory ; and in the form-

ation of States. It grew into an avowed struggle for political ascendancy in the whole Union, Free and Slave States. It culminated in war in Kansas; and finally in rebellion and disunion. "The Union as it was" means the subjection of millions of nominal freemen to a few hundred thousand slave-holders. "The Union as it was" means domination in the South; subjection in the North. "The Union as it was" means the overthrow of all Constitutions, all law, and all liberty. "The Union as it was" means corruption, robbery, incapacity of government, and a dissolution of the bonds of society. "The Union as it was" means treason and rebellion, as they were. If we are true to ourselves, we will have no more of "the Union as it was;" but the Constitution as it is, and the union of freedom and free men, as our fathers designed it.

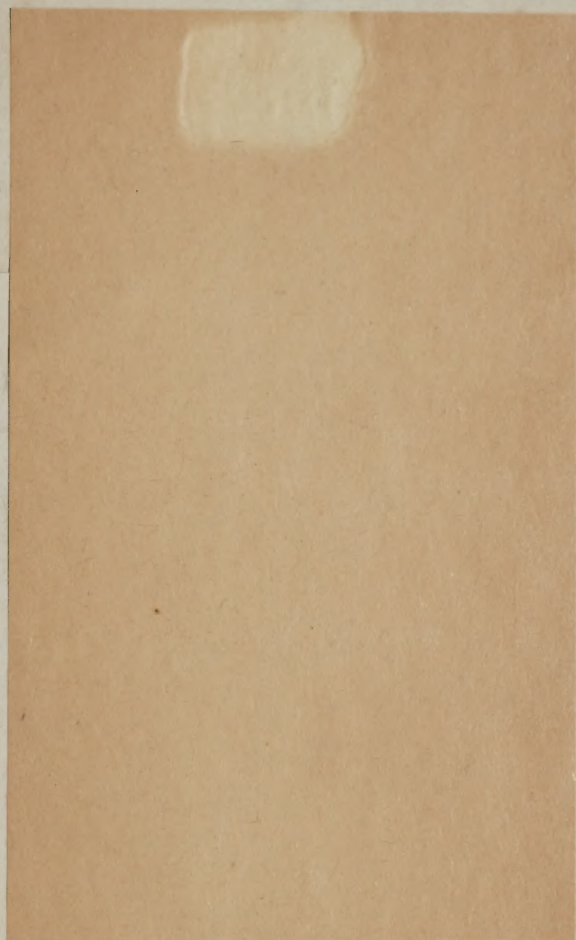
Historic reasons against the Union as it was.

In having tried the experiment of the Union of Slave and Free States, and having proved it a failure, we are but repeating well-known history. In the union, or rather Confederation of the German States, some free and others aristocratic, monarchical, and despotic, Germany has never been able to secure consolidation or safety. She still struggles in vain for "a more perfect union." Holland and Switzerland, being homogeneous, have better succeeded. The Vientes, choosing a king, broke up the Tuscan Federation. The Canaanites, being petty monarchies, were naturally incapable of forming an useful union. It was the admission of the Kings of Macedon into the Amphyctionic Council which overthrew the Confederation; and extinguished the liberties of Greece forever.

Peroration.

When, long years ago, knowing the nature of slavery, we

desired by peaceable means to check its power and to subject it to the civilizing influences of the age: North and South, we were told to be quiet—time would cure all things—Providence would provide a remedy. In peace, the time had not come: and now in war the time has not come! In vain we gave utterance to the “voiceless woe” of the four millions of men, women, and children in slavery; and implored the eight millions of whites to let the oppressed go free. The prejudice of color bound the non-slave-holding whites, alike with the black, to the masters’ chariot wheels. See them now, like dumb cattle, driven to the slaughter; they are thrown in heaps into their last resting places; no stone marks their dishonored graves. See now “the desolator desolate!” Within the shattered hovel, by the broken hearth-stone, the wan, expectant wife gathers her ragged, starving children: alas! the husband, the father, and the brother will return no more! Yes, Providence at last speaks! By the wasted fields—the blighted industries—the exhausted treasures—the desolated hearth-stones—the tears of the widow and the orphan—and the shedding of blood—Deity calls upon us to execute justice. The madness of the parricides has broken the shield of the Constitution. Men of the North, having now the legal equitable power over slavery, I warn you, too, that God decrees liberty to all or to none! The hopes and fears of a life struggle are with me crowded into a day. I would that you could feel as I do the urgency of the crisis, which determines the destiny of so many millions now living, and the vastly more millions yet to be born. Then would you be persuaded, that as much as the liberation of the slaves is a “*war measure*,” yet far more is it a “*peace measure*.” If you would have peace, be just; for *justice is the only peace*.



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